

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ERDA-05 AF-08 ARA-06 CIAE-00
DODE-00 EA-07 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 IO-13 L-03 NASA-01
NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01
OES-06 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 DHA-02 EB-08 OMB-01
TRSE-00 CIEP-01 CEA-01 /140 W
-----272005Z 054186 /42

R 261610Z JAN 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3512
INFO USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA
AMCONSUL LNINGRAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 1226

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR UR US AO ETRD PARM SHUM
SUBJECT: USA INSTITUTE STAFFER ON 1977 PROSPECTS

SUMMARY: BRITISH RUNDOWN ON JAN. 24 COMMENTS BY USA
INSTITUTE EXECSEC IVANYAN HAS HIM:
--VOLUNTEER POSSIBILITY OF NEUTRAL SITE FOR FIRST
CARTER-BREZHNEV MEETING;
--STRONG FOR SALT II ON VLADIVOSTOK BASIS BEFORE
OCTOBER DEADLINE, AND FOR IA EXTENSION IF DEADLINE
CANNOT BE MET;
--DESCRIBE TRADE AGREEMENT AS "ON
AGENDA BUT NOT PRIORITY";
--MORE PESSIMISTIC THAN SOVIET PUBLIC COMMENT ABOUT
MIDDLE EAST PROSPECTS, BECAUSE OF ISRAELI ELECTIONS AND
EGYPTIAN WEAKNESS;
--REAFFIRM PROMISE THAT SOVIETS WILL NOT TEST NEW
ADMINISTRATION EARLY, WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO
INTERVENTION IN THIRD WORLD A LA ANGOLA. END SUMMARY.

1. HIGHLIGHTS OF JAN. 24 COMMENTS BY USA AND CANADA
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INSTITUTE EXECSEC EDUARD IVANYAN TO UK POL COUNSELOR
MALLABY, AS RELAYED BY UK AMBASSADOR SMITH (PROTECT
BOTH) AT QUADRIPARTITE MEETING JAN. 25, MAY BE OF
BACKGROUND INTEREST.

2. ON U.S.-SOVIET SUMMIT, IVANYAN RESPONDED TO
MALLABY QUESTION ABOUT BREZHNEV VISIT TO WASHINGTON

BY VOLUNTEERING THAT MEETING ON NEUTRAL GROUND, SAY GENEVA, MIGHT BE MORE APPROPRIATE FOR FIRST CONTACT AND SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED, DESPITE INAUSPICIOUS PRECEDENT OF KHRUSHCHEV-KENNEDY MEETING IN VIENNA. HAVING ADMITTED THAT SOVIET PUBLIC COMMENT IS DELIBERATELY SEEKING TO PRESENT PRESIDENT AS DEMANDEUR WANTING A SUMMIT, HE WENT ON TO SAY SECOND MEETING BETWEEN BREZHNEV AND PRESIDENT SHOULD CERTAINLY BE IN WASHINGTON.

3. ON SALT, IVANYAN RESPONDED TO QUESTION ABOUT BREZHNEV'S TULA REMARK CONCERNING VLADIVOSTOK BASIS WITH COMMENT THAT VLADIVOSTOK WAS MINIMUM FOR AN AGREEMENT; THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO GO FURTHER THAN VLADIVOSTOK; BUT THAT IT WOULD PROBABLY BE BETTER AT THIS STAGE TO IMPLEMENT VLADIVOSTOK AND THEN DISCUSS ACTUAL REDUCTION IN SALT III. IF SALT II NOT CONCLUDED BEFORE OCTOBER DEADLINE IT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL TO EXTEND SALT I AGREEMENT, BUT IT IS INFINITELY PREFERABLE TO CONCLUDE SALT II BEFORE SALT I EXPIRES. HE THOUGH THERE WOULD "PROBABLY BE NO POINT IN A CARTER-BREZHNEV SUMMIT BEFORE SALT II HAD BEEN CONCLUDED," AND IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT FOR FUTURE OF THEIR RELATIONSHIP FOR FIRST MEETING TO ACHIEVE SOMETHING IMPORTANT. AT SAME TIME, ONE MEETING BETWEEN SECRETARY AND GROMYKO WOULD TAKE PLACE BEFORE FIRST SUMMIT.

4. ON DIPLOMATIC AGENDA FOR 1977, IVANYAN CONFIDENTIAL

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FIRMED SALT WAS TOP PRIORITY AND NON-PROLIFERATION AND IMPORTANT SUBJECT; CLAIMED A TRADE AGREEMENT WAS ON THE AGENDA BUT WAS NOT A PRIORITY, SINCE SOVIET UNION LIVED NO WORSE WITHOUT NONE THAN WITH ONE, ALTHOUGH AN AGREEMENT MIGHT HELP RIGHT HEAVY IMBALANCE IN BILATERAL TRADE IN US FAVOR; AND WAS MORE PESSIMISTIC ABOUT MIDDLE EAST THAN SOME RECENT SOVIET PRESS COMMENT, ACCORDING TO MALLABY, OPINING THAT ISRAELI ELECTIONS AND DEMONSTRATED WEAKNESS OF SADAT REGIME IN EGYPT MIGHT WELL DELAY MOVEMENT.

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5. ON HUMAN RIGHTS (WHOSE RELEVANCE TO DETENTE MALLABY RAISED), IVANYAN SAID THAT "MESSIANISM" IS A LEGITIMATE PART OF THE STRUGGLE OF IDEAS, WHERE EACH SIDE TRIES TO SHOW BY EXAMPLE AND PERSUASION THAT ITS SYSTEM IS BEST, BUT THAT THERE IS A LIMIT TO THE PERMISSIBLE, AND INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS WOULD NOT BE TOLERATED. "MESSIANISM" ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD NOT BE EXPRESSED, THEREFORE, IN INTERFERENCE IN SOVIET INTERNAL AFFAIRS. COMMENT. BRITISH CLAIM THEIR SOVIET CONTACTS USE "MESSIANISM" TO DESCRIBE PRESIDENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD HUMAN RIGHTS, AND WE HEARD IT FROM IVANYAN'S COLLEAGUE TROFIMENKO (USA INSTITUTE FOREIGN AFFAIRS SECTION CHIEF) IMMEDIATELY AFTER ELECTION. 3,D COMMENT.

6. WHEN MALLABY CRITICIZED THE SOVIET VIEW THAT OVERSEAS INTERVENTION IN SUPPORT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IS COMPATIBLE WITH DETENTE, AND PREDICTED THAT ANY REPETITION OF ANGOLA WOULD SPOIL THE PROSPECTS FOR 1977, IVANYAN REPLIED
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THAT "BARRING EXTRANEIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES, THE SOVIET UNION WILL BEHAVE IN 1977 IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS STATEMENTS THAT THERE IS NO SOVIET THREAT." IT WOULD ALSO ABIDE BY BREZHNEV'S MESSAGE VIA SIMON TO THE PRESIDENT-ELECT THAT THE USSR WOULD NOT PROVOKE CRISES TO TEST THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

IT WOULD NOT "FABRICATE AN ANGOLA SITUATION."
ANGOLA HAD BEEN AN EXCEPTIONAL SITUATION: THE
SOVIET UNION HAD NOT LIKED HAVING TO INTERVENE, AND
HE FORESAW NO NEED FOR IT TO DO SO ANYWHERE IN 1977.

7. ON THE NEW ADMINISTRATION, IVANYAN SAID VANCE
AND GROMYKO WERE ALREADY WELL ACQUAINTED; FIVE BIG
MEN IN THE NEW CABINET --MONDALE, BROWN, BLUMEN-
THAL AND BRZEZINSKI, IN ADDITION TO VANCE -- HAD
BEEN IN THE USA INSTITUTE; AND THEY WERE ALL
INTELLIGENT AND REASONABLE MEN, CAPABLE OF UNDER-
STANDING SOVIET VIEWS. VANCE KNEW THE USSR "BETTER
THAN ANY OF HIS PREDECESSORS." "PEOPLE IN MOSCOW,"
IVANYAN CONCLUDED, WERE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT DEVELOPING
BETTER RELATIONS WITH THE NEW ADMINISTRATION THAN
THEY HAD ENJOYED WITH WASHINGTON FOR MANY YEARS.

8. COMMENT: WHILE MOST OF IVANYAN' SPRESENTATION
WAS OBVIOUSLY EITHER STRAIGHT-LINE PROJECTION OF
BREZHNEV'S TULA SPEECH OR SIMPLE REFLECTION OF
PUBLIC AND PRIVATE OPTIMISM WITH SHICH SOVIETS
HAVE CHOSEN TO GREET NEW ADMINISTRATION, WE FIND
IT OF INTEREST THAT HE (1) VOLUNTEERED THE
POSSIBILITY OF A NEUTRAL SITE FOR THE FIRST CARTER-
BREZHNEV MEETING; (2) MADE CLEAR THAT ARMS CONTROL
ISSUES TAKE PRIORITY AS AGENDA ITEMS OVER TRADE AGREE-
MENT; AND (3) WAS AT SUCH PAINS TO REAFFIRM PROMISE
THAT SOVIETS DO NOT INTEND TO TEST THE ADMINISTRATION
EARLY, AND TO ELABORATE THAT "BARRING UNFORESEEN
CIRCUMSTANCES" THIS MEANS INTERVENTION IN THIRD WORLD.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, HUMAN RIGHTS, TRADE, NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 26-Jan-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977MOSCOW01226
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
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From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770116/aaaaaoft.tel
Line Count: 207
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Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
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Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3496842
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: USA INSTITUTE STAFFER ON 1977 PROSPECTS SUMMARY: BRITISH RUNDOWN ON JAN. 24 COMMENTS BY USA INSTITUTE EXECSEC IVANYAN HAS HIM
TAGS: PFOR, ETRD, PARM, SHUM, UR, US, AO
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/c22708d1-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009